

K William III

THE
Prince of Orange,
HIS
DECLARATION:
SHEWING THE
REASONS
Why he Invades ENGLAND,
WITH
A Short PREFACE,
AND SOME
MODEST REMARKS on It.

L O N D O N :

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UNIT



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UNIT 1

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The Prince of Orange's Declaration, shewing the Reasons, why He invades England, with a short Preface, and some modest Remarks on it.

THERE having been various Discourses about the Reasonableness and Justice of the Dutch Invasion, the Prince's great Love and special Care of the Protestant Religion, and English Protestants, set forth in the most Charming manner, and the Desperateness of the Protestant State and Condition painted in the blackest and most frightful Colours; Our Natural Liege Lord, notwithstanding his Unparallel'd Grace to all, represented as designing the greatest Cruelty against his own Subjects; strange Stories of ill things whispered, and nothing less than a Secret League between His Majesty of Great Britain, and the French King, to Extirpate all Protestants entered into: These Reports are with so much Art and Cunning spread, as to startle the most Considering Protestants of all Persuasions, whence nothing could be more eagerly desired, than a Sight of the Prince of Orange's Declaration. For the Expectations of most Men are, That some Extraordinary Secrets, some hidden Works of Darkness should be reveal'd and brought to Light; as generally those, who yet never saw the Prince's Declaration, do still believe; But there not being one word of any such Treaty, we cannot see why it is that the Prince comes Over; and if others impartially Peruse the Declaration, we doubt not but 'twill Convince them, that they give no Reason powerful enough to Justifie so Bloody an Enterprize, as this, in the Issue must needs be.

We will therefore give you a true Copy of the Prince's Declaration, word for word, as it runs in the West.

THE
DECLARATION
OF HIS HIGHNES
William Henry,
By the Grace of GOD,
PRINCE of ORANGE, &c.

Of the REASONS inducing Him,
To appear in Armes in the Kingdome of
England, for Preserving of the Protestant
Religion, and for Restoring the Lawes
and Liberties of *England*, *Scotland* and
Ireland.

IT is both certain, and Evident to all men, that the Publike Peace and
Happines of any State or Kingdome, can not be preserved, where the
Lawes, Liberties, and Customs established, by the Lawfull authority in
it, are openly Transgressed and Annulled: More especially where the
alteration of *Religion* is endeavoured, and that a *Religion* which is contrary to
Law is endeavoured to be introduced: Upon which those who are most Im-
mediately,

mediatly Concerned in it, are Indispentibly bound, to endeavour to Preserve and maintain the established Lawes, Liberties and Customes: and above all the *Religion* and Worship of God, that is established among them: And to take such an effectual care, that the Inhabitants of the said State or Kingdom, may neither be deprived of their *Religion*, nor of their Civill Rights. Which is so much the more Necessary because the Greatnes and Security both of Kings, Royall families, and of all such as are in Authority, as well as the Happines of their Subjects and People, depend, in a most especiall manner, upon the exact observation, and maintenance of these their Lawes, Liberties, and Customes.

Upon these grounds it is, that we cannot any longer forbear, to Declare that to our great regret, we see that those Councillours, who have now the chieffe credit with the King, have overturned the *Religion*, Lawes, and Liberties of those Realines: and subjected them in all things relating to their Consciences, Liberties, and Properties, to Arbitrary Government: and that not only by secret and Indirect waies, but in an open and undisguised manner.

Those Evil Councillours for the advancing and colouring this, with some plausible pretexs, did Invent and set on foot, the Kings *Dispensing power*, by vertue of which, they pretend that according to *Law*, he can *Suspend* and *Dispen*ce with the Execution of the *Lawes*, that have been enacted by the Authority, of the King and Parliament, for the security and happines of the Subject, and so have rendered those Laws of no effect: Tho there is nothing more certain, then that as no Lawes can be made, but by the joint concurrence of King and Parliament, so likewise lawes so enacted, which secure the Publike peace, and safety of the Nation, and the lives and liberties of every subject in it, can not be repealed or suspended but by the same authority.

For tho the King may pardon the punishment, that a Transgressor has incurred, and to which he is condemned, as in the cases of *Treason* or *Felony*; yet it can not be with any colour of reason, Inferred from thence, that the King can entirely suspend the execution of those Lawes, relating to *Treason* or *Felony*: Unless it is pretended, that he is clothed with a Despotick and Arbitrary power, and that the Lives, Liberties, Honours and Estates of the Subjects, depend wholly on his good will and Pleasure, and are entirely subject to him; which must infallibly follow, on the Kings having a power to *suspend* the execution of the *Lawes*, and to *dispen*ce with them.

Those Evill Councillours, in order to the giving some credit to this strange and execrable Maxime, have so conducted the matter, that they have obtained a Sentence from the Judges, declaring that this *Dispensing power*, is a Right belonging to the *Crown*; as if it were in the power of the twelve Judges, to offer up the Lawes, Rights, and Liberties, of the whole Nation, to the King, to be disposed of by him Arbitrarily and at his Pleasure, and expressly contrary to Lawes enacted, for the security of the Subjects. In order to the obtaining this Judgment, those Evill Councillours did before

land, examine secretly, the Opinion of the Judges, and procured such of them, as could not in Conscience concur in so pernicious a Sentence, to be turned out, and others to be substituted in their Rooms till by the changes which were made, in the Courts of Judicature, they at last obtained that Judgment. And they have raised some to those Trusts, who make open Profession of the Popish Religion, though those are by Law Rendred Incapable of all such Employments.

It is also Manifest and Notorious, that as his Majestie was, upon his coming to the Crown, received and acknowledged by all the subjects of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, as their *King* without the least opposition, so he made then open profession, of the *Popish Religion*; so he did then Promise, and Solemnly Swear, at his Coronation, that he would maintain his subjects, in the free enjoyment of their Lawes, and Liberties, and in particular, that he would maintain the *Church of England as it was established by Law*: It is likewise certain, that there have been at diverse and sundry times, several Lawes enacted for the preservation of those Rights, and Liberties, and of the Protestant Religion: and among other Securities, it has been enacted that all Persons whatsoever, that are advanced to any Ecclesiastical Dignity, or to bear Office in either University, as likewise all other, that should be put in any Employment, Civill or Military, should declare that they were not Papists, but were of the Protestant Religion, and that, by their taking of the Oaths of *Allegance*, and *Supremacy* and the *Test*, yet these Civill Councillours have in effect annulled and abolished all those Lawes, both with relation to Ecclesiasticall and Civill Employments.

In order to Ecclesiasticall Dignities and Offices. they have not only without any colour of Law, but against most expresse Lawes to the contrary, set up a Commission, of a certain Number of persons, to whom they have committed the cognisance and direction of all Ecclesiasticall matters: in the which Commission there has been and still is, one of His Majesties Ministers of State, who makes now publike profession of the Popish Religion, and who at the time of his first professing it, declared that for a great while before, he had believed that to be the only true Religion. By all this, the deplorable State to which the Protestant Religion is reduced is Apparent, since the Affairs of the *Church of England*, are now put into the hands of Persons, who have accepted of a Commission that is manifestly Illegal; and who have executed it contrary to all Law; and that now one of their chieffe Members has abjured the *Protestant Religion* and declared himself a *Papist*; by which he is become Incapable of holding any Publicke Employment: The said Commissioners have hitherto given such proof, of their submission to the directions given them, that there is no reason to doubt, but they will still continue to promote all such designs as will be most agreeable to them. And those Evill Councillours take care, to raise none to any Ecclesiasticall dignities, but persons that have no zeal for the *Protestant Religion*, and that now hide their unconcernedness for it, under the specious pretence of *Moderation*. The said Commissioners have suspended the Bishop of *London*, only because he refused to obey an order, that was sent

sent him to suspend a Worthy Divine, without so much as citing him before him, to make his own Defence, or observing the common formes of Proceffe. They have turned out a President, chosen by the fellows of *Magdalen Colledge*, and afterwards all the Fellows of that Colledge, without so much as citing them before any Court, that could take legall cognisance of that affair; or obtaining any Sentence against them by a Competent Judge. And the only reason, that was given, for turning them out, was their refusing to choose for their President; a Person that was recommended to them, by the Instigation of those Evill Councillours. Tho the right of a free Election belonged undoubtedly to them. But they were turned out of their freeholds, contrary to Law; and to that expresse provision in the *Magna Charta*; that no man shall lose life or Goods, but by the Law of the land. And now these Evill Councillours have put the said Colledge wholly into the hands of Popists, tho as is abovesaid, they are Incapable, of all such Employments, both by the Law of the Land, and the statutes of the Colledge. These Commissioners have also cited before them all the Chancellours and Archdeacons of England, requiring them to certifie to them the names, of all such Clergymen, as have read the Kings declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, and of such as have not read it: without considering that the reading of it, was not enjoined the Clergy, by the Bishops, who are their Ordinaries. The Illegality and Incompetency of the said Court of the Ecclesiasticall Commissioners, was so notoriously known, and it did so Evidently appear, that it tended to the Subversion of the *Protestant Religion*; that the Most Reverend Father in God, *William Archbishop of Canterbury*, Primate and Metropolitan of all England; seeing that it was raised for no other end, but to oppress such persons as were of Eminent Vertue, Learning, and Piety, refused to sit, or to concurre in it.

And tho there are many expresse Lawes against all Churches or Chapells, for the exercise of the Popish Religion, and also against all Monasteries and Convents, and more particularly against the order of the *Jesuits*, yet these Evill Councillours have Procured orders for the building of severall Churches and Chappels, for the Exercise of that Religion: They have also procured diverse Monasteries to be Erected, and in contempt of the Law they have not only set up severall Colledges of *Jesuits*, in diverse places, for the corrupting of the youth, but have raised up one of the Order, to be a Privy Councillour and a Minister of State. By all which they do evidently shew, that they are restrained by no rules of Law whatsoever; but that they have subjected the Honours and Estates of the subjects, and the Establishd Religion, to a Despotick power and to Arbitrary Government: In all which they are served and seconded by those Ecclesiasticall Commissioners.

They have also followed the same methods with Relation to Civill affairs: For they have procured Orders, to examine all Lords Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, and all others, that were in any Publicke Employment, if they would concurre with The King in the Repeal of the *Test and Penal Laws*: and all such, whose Consciences did not suffer them, to comply with their designs, were turned out; and others were put

in their places, who they believed would be more Compliant to them ; in their Designs of defeating the Intent and Execution of those Laws ; which had been made with so much care and caution, for the Security of the *Protestant Religion*. And in many of these places they have put professed Papists, though the Law has disabled them, and warranted the subjects not to have any regard to their Orders.

They have also invaded the Priviledges, and seized on the Charters of most of those Towns that have a right to be represented by their Burgeses in Parliament : and have procured surrenders to be made of them, by which the Magistrates in them have delivered up all their Rights, and Priviledges, to be disposed of, at the pleasure of those Evill Councillours : who have thereupon, placed new Magistrates in those Towns, such as they can most entirely confide in : and in many of them, they have put Popish Magistrates, notwithstanding the Incapacities under which the Law has put them.

And whereas no Nation whatsoever can subsist without the administration of good and impartiall Justice, upon which mens Lives, Liberties, Honours, and Estates, doe depend ; those Evill Councillours have subjected these to an Arbitrary and Despotick power : In the most important affairs, they have studied to discover before hand, the Opinions of the Judges ; and have turned out such, as they found would not conform themselves to their intentions : and have put others in their places, of whom they were more assured, without having any regard to their abilities. And they have not stuck to raise even professed Papists, to the Courts of Judicature, notwithstanding their Incapacity by Law, and that no Regard is due to any Sentences flowing from them. They have carried this so far, as to deprive such Judges, who in the common administration of Justice, shewed that they were governed by their Consciences, and not by the directions, which the others gave them. By which it is apparent that they designe to render themselves the absolute Masters of the Lives, Honours and Estates of the subjects, of what rank or dignity soever they may be : and that without having any regard either to the equity of the cause, or to the Consciences of the Judges, whom they will have to submit in all things, to their own will, and pleasure : hoping by such waies, to Intimidate those who are yet in Employment, as also such others, as they shall think fit, to put in the Rooms of those whom they have turned out ; and to make them see, what they must look for, if they should at any time act in the least contrary to their good liking : and that no failings of that kind, are pardoned, in any persons whatsoever. A great deal of blood has been shed in many places of the Kingdom, by Judges governed by those Evill Councillours, against all the rules and forms of Law ; without so much as suffering the persons that were accused, to Plead in their own Defence.

They

They have also, by putting the administration of Justice, in the hands of Papists, brought all the matters of Civil Justice into great uncertainties: with how much exactness and Justice soever that these Sentences may have been given. For since the Laws of the Land do not only exclude Papists from all places of Judicature, but have put them under an Incapacity, none are bound to acknowledge or to obey their Judgements, and all Sentences given by them, are null and void of themselves: so that all persons who have been cast, in Trials before such Popish Judges, may justly look on their Pretended Sentences, as having no more force, then the Sentences of any private and unauthorised person whatsoever. So deplorable is the case of the Subjects, who are obliged to answer to such Judges, that must in all things stick to the Rules, which are set them by those Evil Counsellours, who as they raised them up to those Employments, so can turn them out of them at pleasure; and who can never be esteemed Lawful Judges; so that all their Sentences are in the Contruction of the Law, of no Force and Efficacy. They have likewise disposed of all Military Employments, in the same manner: For tho the Laws have not only Excluded Papists, from all such Employments, but have in particular; Provided that they should be Disarmed; yet they in Contempt of these Laws, have not only armed the Papists, but have likewise raised them up to the greatest Military Trusts, both by Sea and Land, and that Strangers as well as Natives, and Irish as well as English, that so by those means, having rendred themselves Masters both of the affairs of the Church, of the Government of the Nation, and of the course of Justice, and subjected them all to a Despotick and Arbitrary power, they might be in a Capacity to maintain and execute their wicked designs, by the assistance of the Army, and thereby to enslave the Nation.

The dismal effects of this subversion of the established Religion, Laws and Liberties in England appear more evidently to us, by what we see done in Ireland: where the whole Government is put in the hands of Papists, and where all the Protestant Inhabitants are under the daily fears of what may be justly apprehended, from the Arbitrary Power which is set up there: which has made great numbers of them, leave that Kingdom, and abandon their Estates in it, remembering well that Cruel and Bloody Massacre, which fell out in that Island in the year 1641.

Those Evil Counsellours have also prevailed with the King to declare in Scotland that he is clothed with *Absolute Power*, and that all the Subjects are bound to ~~obey him~~ *obey him without Reserve*: upon which he has assumed an Arbitrary Power both over the Religion and Laws of that Kingdom, from all which it is apparent, what is to be looked for in England, as soon as matters are duly prepared for it.

Those great and insufferable Oppressions, and the open Contempt of all Law, together with the apprehensions of the sad Consequences that must certainly follow upon it, have put the subjects under great and just fears: and have made them look after such lawful Remedies as are allowed of in all Nations: yet all has been without effect. And those Evil Counsellours have endeavoured to make all Men apprehend, the loss of their Lives, Liberties,

Honours, and Estates, if they should go about to preserve themselves from this Oppression, by Petitions, Representations, or other means authorised by Law. Thus did they proceed with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other Bishops, who having offered a most humble petition to the King, in termes full of Respect, and not exceeding the number limited by Law, in which they set forth in short, the Reasons, for which they could not obey that order, which by the Instigation of those Evil Councillors, was sent them, requiring them to appoint their Clergy to read in their Churches the Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*; were sent to prison and afterwards brought to a Triall, as if they had been guilty of some enormous Crime. They were not only obliged, to defend themselves in that pursute, but to appear before Professed Papists, who had not taken the Test and by Consequence were men whose Interest led them to condemn them: and the Judges that gave their opinion in their favours were thereupon turned out.

And yet it cannot be pretended, that any Kings; how great soever their power has been, and how Arbitrary and Despotick soever, they have been in the exercise of it, have ever reckoned it a crime for their Subjects to come, in all Submission and Respect, and in a due number, not exceeding the limits of the Law, and represent to them the Reasons that made it impossible for them to obey their orders. Those Evil Councillors have also treated a Peer of the Realm as a Criminal, only because he said that the subjects were not bound to obey the orders of a Popish Justice of Peace: tho it is Evident, that they being by Law rendred incapable of all such trusts, no regard is due to their orders. This being the security which the people have by the Law for their Lives, Liberties, Honours, and Estates, that they are not to be subjected to the Arbitrary proceedings of Papists, that are contrary to Law, put into any employments Civil or Military.

Both Wee ourselves, and our Dearest and most Entirely Beloved Consort, the Princess, have endeavoured to signify in terms full of respect, to the King, the just and deep Regret which all these Proceedings have given us; and in Compliance with his Majesties desires signified to us, Wee Declared both by word of Mouth, to his Envoy, and in writing; what our Thoughts were touching the Repealing of the *Test and Penal Lawes*; which we did in such a manner, that we hoped we had proposed an Expedient, by which the Peace of those Kingdoms, and a happy agreement among the Subjects of all Persuasions, might have been settled: but those Evil Councillors, have put such ill Constructions on these our good Intentions, that they have endeavoured to alienate the King more and more from us; as if Wee had designed, to disturb the quiet and Happiness of the Kingdome.

The last and great Remedy for all those Evils, is the *Calling of a Parliament*, for securing the Nation, against the evil practices of those wicked Councillors: but this could not be yet compassed, nor can it be easily brought about. For those Men apprehending, that a lawful Parliament, being once assembled, they would be brought to an account, for all their open violations of Law, and for their Plots and Conspiracies against the Protestant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of the Subjects, they have endeavoured

under

under the specious Pretence of *Liberty of Conscience*; first to Sow divisions among Protestants, between those of the Church of *England* and the Dissenters: The design being laid to engage Protestants, that are all equally concerned, to preserve themselves from Popish Oppression; into mutual quarrellings; that so by these, some advantages might be given to them to bring about their Designs; and that both in the Election of the Members of Parliament, and afterwards in the Parliament it self. For they see well that if all Protestants could enter into a mutual good Understanding, one with another, and Concurr together, in the preserving of their Religion, it would not be possible for them to compass their wicked ends. They have also required all Persons in the several Counties of *England*, that either were in any Employment, or were in any Considerable Esteem, to declare before hand, that they would concur in the Repeal of the *Test and Penal Laws*; and that they would give their voices in the Elections to Parliament, only for such as would concur in it: Such as would not thus Preingage themselves were turned out of all Employments: And others who entred into those engagements, were put in their places, many of them being Papists: and contrary to the Charters and Priviledges of those Burroughs, that have a Right to send Burgesses to Parliament, they have ordered such Regulations to be made, as they thought fit and necessary, for assuring themselves of all the Members, that are to be chosen by those Corporations: and by this means they hope to avoid that Punishment which they have Deserved: tho it is apparent, that all Acts made by Popish Magistrates are null, and Void of themselves; So that no Parliament can be Lawful, for which the Elections and Returns are made by Popish Sheriffs and Majors of Towns; and Therefore as long as the Authority and Magistracy is in such hands, it is not possible to have any Lawful Parliament. And tho according to the Constitution of the English Government, and Immemorial Custome, all Elections of Parliament men ought to be made with an Entire Liberty, without any sort of force, or the requiring the Electors to choose such Persons as shall be named to them, and the Persons thus freely Elected, ought to give their Opinions freely, upon all Matters that are brought before them, having the good of the Nation ever before their Eyes, and following in all things the dictates of their Conscience, yet now the People of *England* can not expect a Remedy from a free Parliament, Legally Called and Chosen. But they may perhaps see one Calld, in which all Elections will be carried by Fraud or Force, and which will be composed of such Persons, of whom those Evil Councillours hold themselves well assured, in which all things will be carried on according to their Direction and Interest, without any regard to the Good or Happiness the Nation. Which may appear Evidently from this, that the same Persons tried the Members of the last Parliament, to gain them to Consent to the Repeal of the *Test and Penal Lawes*, and procured that Parliament to be dissolved, when they found that they could not, neither by Promises nor Threatnings, prevail with the Members to Comply with their wicked Designs.

But to Crown all, there are Great and Violent Presumptions, inducing us to Beleeve, that those Evil Councillours, in order to the carrying on of their ill Designs, and to the Gaining to themselves the more time for the Effecting of them, for the encouraging of their Complices, and for the discouraging of all Good Subjects, have published that the *Queen* hath brought forth a *Son*: tho there have appeared both during the *Queens* pretended Bigness, and in the manner in which the Birth was managed, so many just and Visible grounds of suspicion, that not only we our selves, but all the good Subjects of those Kingdoms, do Vehemently suspect, that the pretended Prince of *Wales* was not born by the *Queen*. And it is notoriously known to all the world, that many both doubted of the *Queens* Bigness, and of the Birth of the Child, and yet there was not any one thing done to Satisfy them, or to put an end to their Doubts.

And since our Dearest and most Entirely Beloved Consort, the Princess, and likewise we Our Selves, have so great an Interest in this Matter; and such a Right, as all the world knows, to the Succession to the Crown, Since also the English did in the year 1672. when the States General of the *United Provinces* were invaded, in a most unjust warre, use their utmost Endeavours to put an end to that Warre, and that in opposition to those who were then in the Government: and by their so doing, they run the hazard, of losing both the favour of the Court, and their Employments; And since the English Nation has ever testified a most particular Affection and Esteem, both to our Dearest Consort the Princess, and to Our selves, Wee cannot excuse our selves from espousing their Interests, in a matter of such high Consequence, and from Contributing all that lies in us, for the Maintaining both of the Protestant Religion, and of the Laws and Liberties of those Kingdoms, and for the Securing to them, the Continual Enjoyment of all their just Rights. To the doing of which, wee are most Earnestly Solicited by a Great many Lords, both Spirituall and Temporall, and by many Gentlemen and other subjects of all Ranks.

THEREFORE it is, that wee have thought fit, to goe over to England, and to Carry over with us a force, sufficient by the blessing of God, to defend us from the Violence of those Evill Councillours. AND WEE being desirous that our Intentions in this, may be Rightly Understood, have for this end prepared this *Declaration*, in which as wee have hitherto given a True Account of the Reasons Inducing us to it, So wee now think fit to DECLARE that this our Expedition, is intended for no other Designe, but to have a free and lawfull Parliament assembled, as soon as is possible: and that in order to this, all the late Charters by which the Elections of Burgesses are limited contrary to the Ancient custome, shall be considered as null and of no force: and likewise all Magistrates who have been Injustly turned out, shall forthwith resume their former Employments, as well as all the Borroughs of England shall return again to their Antient Prescriptions and Charters: And more particularly that the Antient Charter of the Great and Famous City of London, shall again be in Force: and that the Writs for the Members of Parliament shall be addressed to the Proper Officers, according to Law and Custome.

Custom. That also none be suffered to choose or to be chosen Members of Parliament but such as are qualified by Law: And that the Members of Parliament being thus lawfully chosen they shall meet and sit in Full Freedom; That so the Two Houses may concur in the preparing of such Lawes, as they upon full and free debate, shall judge necessary and convenient, both for the confirming and executing the Law concerning the *Test* and such other *Lawes* as are necessary for the Security and Maintenance of the Protestant Religion; as likewise for making such Lawes as may establish a good agreement between the Church of England, and all Protestant Dissenters, as also for the covering and securing of all such, who will live Peaceably under the Government as becomes good Subjects, from all Persecution upon the account of their Religion, even *Papists* themselves not excepted, and for the doing of all other things, which the Two Houses of Parliament shall find necessary for the Peace, Honour, and Safety of the Nation, so that there may be no more danger of the Nations falling at any time hereafter, under *Arbitrary Government*. To this Parliament wee will also referre the Enquiry into the birth of the Pretended Prince of Wales, and of all things relating to it and to the Right of Succession.

And Wee for our part will concur in every thing, that may procure the Peace and Happines of the Nation, which a Free and Lawfull Parliament shall determine; Since wee have nothing before our eyes in this our undertaking, but the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, the Covering of all men from Persecution for their Consciences, and the Securing to the whole Nation the free enjoyment of all their Lawes, Rights and Liberties, under a Just and Legall Government.

This is the designe, that wee have Proposed to our selves, in appearing upon this occasion in Armes: In the Conduct of which, Wee will keep the Forces under our Command, under all the Strictnes of Marriall Discipline: and take a speciall Care, that the People of the Countries thro which wee must march, shall not suffer by their means: and as soon as the State of the Nation will admit of it, Wee promise that we will send back all those Forreigne Forces, that wee have brought along with us.

Wee doe therefore hope that all People will judge rightly of us, and approve of these our Proceedings: But wee chiefly rely on the blessing of God, for the successe of this our undertaking, in which Wee place our whole and only Confidence.

Wee do in the last place invite and require all Persons whatsoever, All the Peers of the Realme, both Spirituall and Temporall, all Lords Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, and all Gentlemen, Citizens and other Commons of all ranks, to come and assist us, in order to the Executing of this our Designe; against all such as shall Endeavour to Oppose us; that so wee may prevent all those Miseries, which must needs follow upon the Nations being kept under Arbitrary Government and Slavery: And that all the Violences and disorders, which have overturned the whole Constitution of the English Government, may be fully redressed, in a FREE AND LEGALL PARLIAMENT.

And

And Wee do likewise resolve that as soon as the Nations are brought to a state of Quiet Wee will take care that a Parliament shall be called in Scotland, for the restoring the Ancient Constitution of that Kingdom, and for bringing the Matters of Religion to such a Settlement, that the People may live easy and happy, and for putting an end to all the Injust Violences, that have been in a course of so many years Committed there.

We will also study to bring the Kingdom of Ireland to such a State, that the Settlement there may be Religiously observed: and that the Protestant and British Interest there, may be secured. And we will endeavour by all possible means, to procure such an establishment in all the Three Kingdoms that they may all live in a happy Union and Correspondence together; and that the Protestant Religion, and the Peace, Honour, and Happiness of those Nations, may be established upon lasting Foundations.

Given under our Hand and Seal, at our Court in the Hague, the Tenth day of October in the year of our Lord 1688.

WILLIAM HENRY, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

By his Highnesses special Command.

C. HUYGENS.

THas you have an exact and full Account of the Prince of Orange's Declaration: And can you find one word of a Treaty with France, to extirpate all Protestants? Or can you imagine that if they had the least reason for such a Talk, they who aggravate every little thing, would let this Declaration pass without the least mentioning of what is so momentous and important? And is there any thing more than a Violent Presumption suggested about the Prince of Wales? And is the very Noise of such a Presumption reason enough to justify a real War? As for the other things urg'd, are they not Redressable by a Parliament, and so far as it's possible without one already Redressed? 'Tis a Parliament then that is the main thing to be insisted on, which, though Chosen as the last was, would be too feeble an Argument to clear the present Invasion from the charge of being Injust and Unrighteous.

The Great Men of this Kingdom ever thought a Parliament Irregularly chosen more eligible than either a War, or a rash Enquiry into the manner of the choise. Did Queen Elizabeth's Parliament admit of a Words being spoken to bring Queen Mary's Parliament into doubt? Did they not look on it as most dangerous to do so? And although by the Triennial Bill the long Parliament in the late Kings Reign, was actually dissolved Nine Months before it thought on the Repeal thereof, yet even after 'twas destroy'd

by it, the Dissolved Parliament sate and repealed the Dissolving Bill, and made the Conventicle-Act, the Test-Laws, repealed the Writ De Hæretico Comburendo, and pass'd the Habeas Corpus-Bill into a Law. But was the Assembly that Acted thus Irregularly, ever call'd to an Account for it, or any of their Laws declared Void and Null? Or was it ever esteemed a Good Reason for a War? And yet this is much more than hath been ever done by His Present Majesty. Besides, 'twas the late King that took away the Charters, and those, who were entring on Violent Courses for their Restauration, were proclaimed Traytors, and several executed for it, whilst all the Pulpits throughout England sounded of the Horridness, Blackness, Vileness, Devilishness of that Conspiracy; And is what was Black and Horrid then, become Noble, Great, Generous, and Glorious now?

Thus much was also a part of the late Duke of Monmouth's Declaration, and yet a Parliament chosen by the Garbled Corporations proclaim'd him a Traitor, and Attainted him; But doth the Blood of Monmouth as well as of the forementioned Conspirators, and of all those in the West Iye on the Judges, Furies, Nobility, and other Gentry of the Church of England, that had a hand in condemning such as by violent Methods would have restor'd the Charters. If these things could not vindicate the Presbyterian Plotters in the late King's Reign, or Monmouth's Rebellion, it cannot excuse the present Undertaking, for this doth infinitely exceed these, and the late Civil War too, for neither of them brought in a Foreign Power upon us as now is done.

But it must be observed, that how great soever our Grievances have been, yet now, all that Relief can reasonably be desired is granted us. The Ecclesiastical Commission actually broken up, the Bishop of London, the Master and Fellows of Magdalen Colledge, and the Ancient Charters of Cities and Burroughs actually restored, all things on the ancient Bottom, for the Calling a Free Parliament, which His Majesty would have done before this time, had not the Prince of Orange hindered him, and as soon as the Prince of Orange departs the King will call one, whereby all the Prince's Pretensions are taken away, and nothing more remains for him to do, but to return home, or contend for the Crown.

Yet the Prince would have us believe, that though he is not satisfied with this, yet he intends no such thing as the Crown, or a Conquest of us, as appears by his Highnesses Additional Declaration.

His Highnesses Additional Declaration.

AFTER we had prepared and printed this our Declaration, wee have understood, that the subverters of the Religion and Lawes of those Kingdomes, hearing of our preparations, to assist the People against them, have begun to retract some of the Arbitrary and Despotick powers, that they had assumed, and to vacate some of their Injust Judgments and Decrees. The sense of their Guilt, and the distrust of their force, have induced them to offer to the City of London some seeming releefe from their Great Oppressions: hoping thereby to quiet the People, and to divert them from demanding a Re-establishment of their Religion and Laws under the shelter of our Arms: They do also give out, that we do intend to Conquer and Enslave the Nation, And therefore it is that we have thought fit to adde a few words to our Declaration.

We are Confident, that no persons can have such hard thoughts of us, as to imagine that we have any other Designe in this Undertaking, then to procure a settlement of the Religion and of the Liberties and Properties of the subjects upon so sure a Foundation, that there may be no danger of the Nations relapsing into the like miseries at any time hereafter. And as the forces that we have brought along with us, are utterly disproportioned to that wicked Design of Conquering the Nation, if wee were capable of Intending it, so the Great Numbers of the Principal Nobility and Gentry, that are Men of Eminent Quality and Estates, and persons of known Integrity and Zeal both for the Religion and Government of England, many of them being also distinguished by their Constant fidelity to the Crown, who do both accompany us in this Expedition, and have earnestly solicited us to it, will cover us from all such Malicious Insinuations: For it is not to be imagined, that either those who have Invited us, or those that are already come to assist us, can joyn in a wicked attempt of Conquest, to make void their own lawful Titles to their Honours, Estates and Interests: Wee are also Confident, that all men see how little weight there is to be laid, on all Promises and Engagements that can be now made: since there has been so little regard had in time past, to the most solemn Promises. And as that Imperfeite redresse that is now offered, is a plain Confession of those Violations of the Government, that we have set forth, so the Defectiveness of it is no lesse Apparent: for they lay down nothing which they may not take up at Pleasure: and they reserve entire and not so much as mentioned, their claimes and pretences to an Arbitrary and Despotick power; which has been the root of all their Oppression, and of the total subversion of the Government. And it is plain, that there can be no redresse nor Remedy offered but in Parliament: by a Declaration of the Rights of the Subjects that have been invaded: and not by any Pretended

Acts

Acts of Grace, to which the extremity of their affairs has driven them. Therefore it is that we have thought fit to declare, that we will refer all to a Free Assembly of the Nation, in a Lawful Parliament.

Given under our Hand and Seal, at our Court in the Hague, the 24. day of October in the year of our Lord 1688.

WILLIAM HENRY, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

By his Highnesses special Command.

C: HUYGENS.

THis Addition doth very fully unfold the Design, the Prince will abide amongst us with a Foreign Power, and make the Choice of a Parliament impracticable, and therefore the Call of one a weak and foolish thing, and yet oblige us to distrust every Promise the King makes us, lest what is done, and insinuating that all things shall be soon undone. And why all these Insinuations, but to help us to Unravel the whole Intreague, which, if it be not for the Crown, must be thus. The Dutch knowing how the Prince hath ravished from them their Liberties and Priviledges, and what danger they are in of being utterly undone, if Liberty of Conscience be settled amongst us in England, Precipitate the Prince on this Hazardous Undertaking, not doubting but they shall be either delivered from the Princes Exercise of a Despotick Power over them, or spoil our Liberty, to the Continuance and Advance of their own Trade; which may be the Reason why in the Entrance into the Declaration, what relates to Religion is so worded as to gain the Bishops over to them, the more easily to effect their Design, for says the Declaration, the Alteration of Religion is endeavoured, and that a Religion which is contrary to Law is endeavoured to be introduced; it is not said, that the Popish Religion, but a Religion contrary to the Law, and, it's well known, that the Laws are against the Religion of the Dissenters, and the Prince's Endeavour shall be to preserve and maintain above all the Religion and Worship of God, that is Established amongst us, which cannot be understood of the Worship the Dissenters use, but of the Hierarchical way, that is as contrary to the Prince's own Religion, as 'tis to that of the Dissenters in England. And to persuade the Church-men to close with him, he Declares, That he was most earnestly solicited to come over by the Lords Spiritual, not doubting, but that if the Belief thereof prevail amongst the Mobile, they'll be all of an Opinion that the Prince's Grounds are most Just and Reason.

Reasonable, so that though it cannot be made out by any thing particularly known, yet this general carrying a thousand unheard-of Arguments in its Bowels cannot fail of success.

But what if this prove not True? May we afterwards venture to believe his Highness in any thing, which under a violent Temptation, he may be, as now, moved to declare? The Prince insists on it, That many of the Lords Spiritual did most earnestly sollicite him to Invade us, and yet the Lords Spiritual do not only declare, That they look on this Invasion to be sinful, but, that they never solicited his coming; And, it must be acknowledged, That they could do no such thing without acting most contrary to their Avowed Principles, and contrary to most solemn Oaths, and Declarations; and Men should take heed, how they receive this Report against the Right Reverend Bishops; the Design in which they are said to Embarque being founded on that very Principle, in pursuance of which the Head of Charles the Blessed Martyr was brought to the Block; and Embarque they cannot, but by joyning with a Foreign Army, the chief part of which is made up of those who though they would willingly enough ensnare our Bishops, cannot be reasonably supposed to be true in the promises they make about supporting their Hierarchical Grandeur; the utmost they must expect in the long-run can be no more than a turning their Lands into Money, that to the end their dependance on the Government may be the more effectually secured, in stead of their present Lands, Leases, &c. they may have an Yearly Salary answerable to their worth and desert, which as 'twill be uncertain, so it cannot be hop'd that its utmost height shall arise to the State and Degree of a Baron; for Baronies go with their Lands. By this you may see, how unlikely any sort of Englishmen should by this Invasion gain any thing but Misery.

ANIMADVERSIONS

UPON THE

DECLARATION

OF HIS HIGHNESS

The PRINCE of ORANGE.

THE Great Preparations for War in *Holland*, were long talk'd of here as very unconcerning News. Besides the perpetual assurances of their Ambassador, that they were not designed this way, every body knew the Influence which his Highness the Prince of *Orange* has upon that Country; and it could not sink into their Heads, that He, who was Born of one Daughter of *England*, and Married to another, would ever suffer the Peace of a Country to be disturbed, for which Nature Solicited a Feeling Tenderness. Even they who reflected, that Politicks sometimes sway more than Nature, as possible as they thought it that he might be moved to suffer it to be done by some body, in whom it would shew less Shocking, thought it absolutely impossible he should ever be moved to bring Fire and Sword into *England* himself, and Personally Fight against his Father-in-Law, and Uncle. When we found our incredulity had deceived us, we cast about to discover what unsufferable Provocations he had receiv'd, what Injuries beyond Satisfaction, what Affronts to be Reveng'd with no less than the Ruin of a Nation; in fine, what just cause of War there could be. And we impatiently waited for the Declaration of his Highness, in which we expected to find all this. Now it is come, we are more at a loss than before. War must shed a great deal of Blood; make numberless Widows and Orphans, whose Tears will go up to Heaven, and Cries be heard; Desolate the Nation; change our Plenty into Beggary; and bring a Thousand Calamities. This Blood, and these Miseries will one Day be required from the Authors. And we perceive nothing in the World to justify all this, but the very Stories which we hear from those who make

in their business to Slander the Government, and Incense the People, of whom there are too many in every Nation, and to whom we little thought his Highness would have afforded the Countenance of his Name. Since he has thought fit to do it, I shall, in respect, forbear to Contest it with his Highness, as much as I perceive he is Misinformed, farther than is just necessary for our own Resolutions and Actions. His Declaration Sollicits us to joyn with his Arms, and I conceive we ought to be very well assured the Reasons offer'd will justifie us to God and Man, before we break our Natural and Sworn Allegiance, and forfeit our Honour in this World, and Interest in the next, by Deserting, or Fighting against our King, and Gods Anointed, before we tear out the Bowels of Our Mother Country with our own Hands, and do things for which his Highness himself shall always think us, and if he prevail, one day Treat us as Traytors and Rebels. For a Traytor is sure to be hated, even by him who loves the Treason.

The Declaration begins with telling us, *That the Publick Peace cannot be preserved, where the Laws are openly Transgressed, and a Religion contrary to Law endeavoured to be introduced. And that those who are most immediately concerned, are indispensably bound to preserve them.* This may be as true as it will for any concern which England or his Highness has in it. England, whatever be, is not the Country in which these things are done. The Execution indeed of some Laws is Suspended, Laws it seems not necessary to the Publick Peace, since the Declaration inform us, his Highness intends they should be taken away; And this Suspension, by those who should know, is thought to be warranted, not forbidden by Law, and his Highness, I fancy, would be of their Opinion himself, if the case were his own. Happy we, if nothing would subvert our Peace, and transgress our Laws more than this Suspension.

But to make these things the Ground of an Invasion, which must intirely subvert our Peace, and, if it prevail, our Laws, and leave us none, but at the Mercy of an Arbitrary Sword; which cannot begin without notoriously transgressing the Laws of God and Nations; nor be abetted without undistinguishable transgressing the Laws of the Land; has palpably some other aim, than the care of our Peace and Laws.

What endeavours to introduce Popery his Highness means, I cannot tell. The King, to my thinking, has bounded his Favour to that Religion, with the single desire of seeing his Papist Subjects in the same condition with the rest, and is pleas'd to bate even of that. Had he design'd to introduce their Religion, he would certainly never have made it impossible to be introduc'd. For an Universal Liberty unites the interest of every Religion, against the prevailing of any one, and Excludes Popery from all hopes of ever Domineering in England. But let the designs of Papists be never so Irreligious, booted Missionaries, I take it, are no Ministers of the Gospel in the Reformed Religion, nor bare endeavours to do bad Actions, a Warrant actually to do bad Actions, and the worst of them.

After all, were our Case as bad as the Declaration represents it, How comes his Highness to be concern'd in it? *It is* in his own words, *certain and evident to all Men*, that Sovereign States, whether Monarchies, or Commonwealths,

monwealths, are independent, and have no Right to interpose, otherwise than by friendly Offices, in one anothers Affairs, but violate the Laws of Nations as often as they do. Every Government holds within itself, all those who are concern'd in the Redress of Abuses, when they happen, and the Laws inform us who they are. Nor is any thing more inconsistent with Government, than the interposition of Foreign Powers, nor more deeply resented by the Laws of all Nations, than abetting of it. Turn the Tables, and let all these dismal Stories, as som perhaps are, be told of *Holland*, and be never so true; I refer it, to all Mankind, to *Holland*, to his Highness himself, whether the King of *England* would not pass for a very bad Neighbour, and a very bad Man, if he should take the cognizance from the States, and himself compose their Disorders by War: The immediate Concern insinuated, relates, I suppose, to the prospect of Succession, to which, if the calamities of War, be the proofs of his tender Affection to our Nation, it will soon with the Right of his Highness were farther removed, than it is; tho' it has now pleased God, the Right should not be immediate, even in his Royal Comfort. But the most immediate Right to Succeed, is no Right to intermeddle before the Succession falls. I am Successor to my Father, but cannot therefore dispose of his Estate, chuse his Tenants for him, and appoint what Covenants he shall make in his Leases, any more than a stranger to his Blood.

And yet it follows, that upon these Grounds, his Highness can no longer forbear to Declare, that Counsellors, in chief Credit with the King, have openly overturned Religion and the Laws, and subjected them in all things relating to Conscience, Liberty and Property, to Arbitrary Government. If these were the true Grounds of his Highness, he could as little forbear to Declare against many, perhaps all Nations, in which there are more rational, and more real causes of complaint to be found, by one who would look after them. But put it to Mankind, and all Mankind must Declare, that these Grounds are no Grounds, and which no party will allow to justify another which disturbs them. Put it to the Nation, and all the Nation must Declare, that every Man enjoys his Conscience, his Liberty, and his Property, even to the Envy of their less happy Neighbours, and that there has been no proceeding against a single Man, but for his single Misdemeanor, and this not by Arbitrary, but Legal, Power. And then to asperse His Majesty with overturning all Laws, under the name of Evil Counsellors! Why? let His Counsellors be never so bad, they are worse, whose Service his Highness has used in Penning this Declaration. Men, whose Brains reach no farther, than to Copy from their Rebellious Ancestors of 41, by whose example it is too sadly known, whom they meant by Evil Counsellors, and what they intended to do with Him. And yet his Highness lends his Name to such Men, and giving Credit to such Counsellors himself, talks of Evil Counsellors in Credit with the King.

To these general Premises, the Declaration adds a List of particulars; whereof the first is, *the Dispensing Power*. And this his Highness takes the pains to moot, and tell us how far it goes, and where it must stop, and that a Sentence has been obtained for it from the Judges. Those Judges should in-
reason

reason understand the Matter better, than those, on whose Information his Highness has thought fit to relye. As I take it for a Parliamentary Business, I leave it untouched, to the Wisdom of a Parliament, believing, all I can say, will be said and considered there, and resolving to acquiesce in their determination. In the mean time, How does this justifie Foreign Arms? Here is the Case. Kings are not bred at the Inns of Court, but must trust Lawyers for Law, as well as Physicians for Physick. The oppression of Conscience-Laws, deafens His Majesties Ears with perpetual Complaints, and His renderneis of His Subjects prompts Him to relieve them. He adviseth with those of the Profession, and they inform Him, He may, by His Dispensing Power, relieve them Legally, and he does it. Every body is not content, and he refers the whole to a publick Legal Tryal. Pray what better, or other Advice could his Highness have given? What could he do more himself, if it had been his own Case? And if I may be so bold, Does he always do so much? Unfortunate Majesty! and Unfortunate Mankind! If every Nation must be justly liable to the calamities of War, in which a King happens to have a Counsellor, who in point of a Law of his own Country, differs in Opinion from a Prince of another.

Upon this Point it is further Declared, that these *Evil Counsellors secretly examined the Opinions of the Judges, and procured such to be turn'd out, as could not in Conscience concur in their pernicious Sentence.* Why? then those bad Counsellors were not bad enough to desire Men should Act against their Conscience, and the pernicious Sentence was given according to Conscience. But this again is His Highnesses Case. He has the nomination of Men to Employments, as well as the King: And I humbly refer it to his Conscience, whether before he nominate, he do not satisfy himself that his Nomin'd be a Man on whom he may rely, for the Service which he expects from him. Is it justice to fall out with the King for doing what he does Himself, and all Princes in the World, and all private Men, who have Employments at their disposal?

After minding us that we have a Crowned King, and have had Laws enacted in England for preservation of our Rights, Liberties and Religion: The Declaration repeats again, that *Evil Counsellors have in effect annul'd all those Laws, contrary to the Kings Promise and Oath.* Strange descent upon this short plain Song, *The King has Dispenc'd with one Law*, and that in the interval of Parliament, from which he promises Himself, it will be taken away, and which the Parliament design'd by his Highness, as free as it shall be, we find by the Declaration, *must* take away, and this upon Information which he had reason to trust, that he might, according to Law. Will the Rhetorick of his Highnesses Pen-men, make this pass for a breach of Promise and Oath, for annulling and abolishing all Laws, when we see with our Eyes, the establish'd Religion actually maintained, and assist every day at the Divine Service of it; when we see the Judges sit, and Suitors obtain effectual Decrees and Sentences from them, and effectual execution elsewhere; when we see no Dispensation, nor Inclination to it in any thing, save in relief of an Oppression, which the whole Nation, as far as I perceive, consents should

not

not be continued? We Humbly pray his Highness, in stead of the Liberty held forth by his Invasion, to afford us the liberty of believing our own Eyes, before the repetitions of his Historical Pen-men, and to think we actually enjoy our Religion, and our Laws, as much as they would persuade us, there is no such thing in *England*.

But tho' our Case were as deplorable, as their frightful *Idea* would make it, what Remedy can we hope from the Declaration? All Human Affairs are subject to the miscarriages inseparable from Human Nature. When they happen among us, the Wisdom of our Nation has always thought the best way of Redress is by Parliament. But we could never think knocking out Mens Brains a proper remedy for miscarriages about Religion, nor plundering and burning apt to set right the sway'd Law. And we again pray his Highness, rather to let us alone in our Misery, than make us happy this way. For as we are made, the Happiness would be incomparably the more unsupportable Misery.

After all; what would his Highness have done in the Case? and what can be done more, than to leave none of those things in being, of which he complain'd? And so much his Highness owns was done before he set Sail from *Holland*. The Ecclesiastical Commission was broken; the Suspension of the Bishop of *London* taken off; *Magdalen* College restored; Chancellors and Archdeacons discharged of their attendance; Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and the rest replaced; and Charters returned. As it is palpable, that his Highness comes not to redress things, which he knew we redress'd already, it is palpable that we have Reasons of his coming alledged which are not his Reasons, and too much ground to argue from one to all, and, conclude, we have not one true Reason offered, but are amused with pretences apt to work upon us, but which no way move his Highness.

There is mention besides of Popish Chappels, and Schools, and Commissions, all three consequences of *Liberty of Conscience*. People cannot exercise their Religion, without places in which to exercise it, neither is there any complaint of the Meeting places of their fellow Dissenters, nor can I understand why his Highness excepts against their Chappels, who Declares, he will not except them from the *Liberty of Conscience*. Again, Parents always breed up their Children in their own way: And if Papiists be not allow'd Schools at home, they will be sent abroad, to spend there, what it were more for the benefit of the Nation should be laid out here, and besides, be train'd up to Foreign Customs, and perhaps, Foreign Principles, not so grateful to the Nation, whereas here they might be watcht. But cannot the King and Parliament compose this matter without Bloodshed? Is the Question, whether a Boy shall go to School in *England* or *Flanders*, so very material, and so very intricate, that nothing but Arms can decide it? As for their Commissions, it stands not with Nature, that a King should not chuse some of his own way to trust with Commissions, when he is persuaded he lawfully may. With all my Heart I wish, that the greater readiness, and greater fidelity of others in the defence of their Prince and Country, may convince him, and all the World, that he has made an ill choice.

But

But to see whither Exaggeration will go! *All Matters of Civil Justice*, according to the Declaration, are brought to great Uncertainties: *Evil Counsellors rendered Masters of the Affairs of the Church, the Government of the Nation, and the Cause of Justice*, and all by these Commissions to Papists: And yet all this signifies barely three or four Judges at most, some Justices of Peace, and some Officers in the Army. Can a few, and those puny Judges, (for there are no other) master the Courts of Justice? Can a few Officers, most Subalterns, with Soldiers, not one to fifty of their Religion, master the Affairs of the Church, and enslave a Nation? In which, if all the Papists were armed, and the rest naked, their Pikes and Muskets could not defend them against a Volley of Stones. Can Matters of Civil Justice be brought to great Uncertainties by the incapacity of Papists, who have no incapacity upon them? The Law indeed forbids them to be employed, but if they be, there is no invalidity laid upon their Acts. And for Military Incapacity, if the Law had put it, his Highness has dispens'd with it; for an Invasion capacitates every body to save his Country, as Fire breaking out, to save his House. But 'tis incomprehensible, that the *Irish* should be mentioned, and the danger in which the Nation is of Slavery from them, who, if his Highness had not brought them in, had never been here to fright us. At worst, the King's Subjects sure may be as safely here, as absolute Foreigners; and if Strangers, tho' Subjects, be inconsistent with our Freedom, 'tis certain, that whatever be the business of his Highnesses Army, our Freedom is not.

And this appears the more, the farther we go. All His Majesty's Dominions are taken presently after into the care of his Highness, and 'tis represented as a dismal Matter, that Papists are employed in *Ireland*; and that the King's Power is in *Scotland* declared *Absolute*, and Subjects to obey *without Reserve*. Now these are the very words of a Law enacted in *Scotland*, by a very free Parliament, held under a Commissioner, upon whom, there never fell any imputation of Popery. His Highness is sparing in this Point. It is said farther by the Parliament, That the Blessings of *Scotland*, are, next to God, owing to the uninterrupted Line of the Kings, and to that solid absolute Authority, and that their Kings are invested with it by the first and fundamental Laws of their Monarchy. But Parliaments, it seems, must exercise no freedom, but according to the pleasure of a supervising Foreign Sword, though I should think it something early to declare it. In *Ireland*, the Laws exclude not Papists from Employments; and 'tis again refer'd to the Conscience of his Highness, Whether he would think it reasonable, his Neighbours should exclaim and inflame the People against him, for disposing Employments as the Law allows, and themselves resolve the Matter to be so heinously unjust, that any of them has right to revenge it upon his Country with the Miseries of War? Who shall hope to please his Highness, when he thinks fit, at once, to dislike breaking Laws in *England*, making them in *Scotland*, and keeping them in *Ireland*?

But these insufferable Oppressions, have put the Subjects under just Fears, and made them look after such lawful Remedies, as are allow'd of in all Nations. I hope, his Highness does not mean, rising in Arms against their King, and calling

calling in Foreign Enemies, by lawful Remedies. Whatever other Nations do, ours allows this for nothing but Treason, and Rebellion, nor, I much suspect, any Nation in the World besides: And yet these lawful Remedies must sure be Remedies not authorized by Law; for the Declaration makes such means barr'd by evil Counsellors: The Instance is in the Bishops Petition. Now as unquestionably legal as a Petition is, there may be an illegal Petition; whether this were so, or no, the King desired should be legally tryed: And a Tryal there was, in which, the direct Point (as I am inform'd) came not to Issue, but *Not guilty* found upon no proof of matter of Fact. A Peer too is mentioned, to be treated as a Criminal, for saying the Orders of a Popish Justice were not to be obeyed. And all his Criminal treatment was to refer him to the ordinary course of Law, where he likewise waved the direct Point by collateral Exceptions; Where may the Oppression be, and where the frightful Apprehensions of loss of Life, Liberty, Honor, and Estate, in all this? Are Judicial Proceedings already threatned, and barr'd? And must we have an Army to revenge the wrongs of the Bishops, and a Peer, who, I believe, themselves complain of none done them? Nor can, without complaining that the Law has wrong'd them, even when it acquitted them.

What significations have been made, and what Expedients propos'd by their Highnesses to his Majesty, is not come to my knowledge. But if the same Advisers were us'd in their suggestions, which have been in this Declaration, it is very likely the King might be sensible, they were too ill inform'd of the Affairs of *England*, to take their Advice. If Evil Counsellors have endeavour'd to perswade the King, that his Highness design'd to disturb the Quiet and Happiness of the Kingdom, I am infinitely sorry he would be at all this pains to justify them. For 'tis impossible to believe he actually came hither, without design to come, or that the War he brings with him will not disturb our Peace, and the Miseries of it our Happiness.

What follows is past my understanding. *The last and great Remedy for all our Evils is the Calling of a Parliament.* So indeed all Englishmen think, and so His Majesty thought, who call'd One. Happy we, if his Highness had been of the same Opinion! but to our Misery, he is not, who when One was call'd would not let it sit, but instead of it brought in Evils past the Remedy even of a Parliament. For Votes are not Cannon proof. *But a Parliament could not yet be compass'd, nor can it be easily brought about.* Too sadly true: For it is neither easy, nor possible, to bring about a Parliament, when defenceless People must break through a Foreign Army to meet and elect. Before, it was so possible to compass, that it was compass; Writs were actually gone out, and Elections begun, which were not stop't by Evil Counsellors. But these Evil Counsellors apprehended, they should be brought to an account, for their Plots and Conspiracies against the Protestant Religion, and have endeavour'd, under the specious pretence of Liberty of Conscience, to sow Divisions among them, between the Church of England, and Dissenters; that, by their mutual Quarrellings, They might bring about their Designs, both in the Election of Members, and in the Parliament it self. Why then they design'd a Parliament should sit, as

ent as they were, and as much as they feared to be called to account. But if Liberty of Conscience be a Plot against Protestants, his Highness must needs be of it himself, who declares for it. Must we believe the same thing, practised by His Majesty, will divide Protestants, and by his Highness establish a good Agreement? Then the asking People their Opinion beforehand, the Charters, Popish Sheriffs and Mayors, are brought in again, only to conclude at last, that *no Parliament can be lawful, for which the Elections and Returns are made by Papists; and therefore, as long as the Authority and Magistracy are in such hands, it is not possible to have any lawful Parliament.* How ill do they understand the Law of England, who penn'd this Declaration? Every body knows, that Elections are made by Freeholders and Freemen, not by Sheriffs and Mayors, and that a Papist may elect as legally as any body, and make a Return, if he be, in Office, as valid. Had his Highness suffered the Elections to go on, we should have thought the Parliament very lawful; but shall not think so of a Parliament made by the Law of Arms, where we are chosen, and sit with the Sword at our Throats, we think, there is neither legality nor freedom; and that, when for a Remedy of the impossibility of a lawful Parliament, there is prescribed an impossibility that it should be lawful, very ill State-Doctors have been called to Council.

The Declaration crowns all with the Birth of the Prince of Wales, of which, it says, *That great and violent Presumptions induce his Highness to believe, that these evil Counsellors have published, the Queen hath brought forth a Son, in order to their ill Designs; and that not only his Highness himself, but all the good Subjects of these Kingdoms, do vehemently suspect, that the pretended Prince of Wales was not born by the Queen.* Such things to come abroad, with the Name of the Prince of Orange to them! And yet it is but too true, that there is a great deal of violence and vehemence in these Presumptions and Suspicions; so true, that there is in reality nothing else, neither Presumption, nor Suspicion, indeed. And this violence, and this vehemence, must needs be infinitely great, which can pretend Suspicions, not only utterly void of all Reason, but so palpably against it, that, quite contrary to what the Declaration avers, there is neither a good Subject, nor a sensible Man, who harbours any Doubt in the case. And this Consideration, I suppose, has so long delayed doing any thing for publick Satisfaction: As it was not indeed very proper for the King to regard idle Fictions, invented and spread by purely obdinate Malice: But now he has caused the business to be scanned, if we should take toy, and suspect without Reason. I believe, it would trouble his Highness, to clear his own or the Princesses Birth, as the Birth of the Prince of Wales is cleared: And guess, they would entertain the slightest suspicion with an impatient Scorn, and not allow the greatest vehemence in the World to suspect them into the Children of other Mothers, than the Princess of Orange, and Duchess of York. But, as much to seek as we were, for a Reason in all alledg'd before, this questioning the Birth of the immediate Successors, speaks plain. We know now, what brought his Highness higher, and can give a shrewd guess at what will follow on his success: For if they be the only good Subjects, who believe not we have a Prince of Wales, they are

are like to be in a bad condition, who have either sense enough to perceive plain Truths, or Conscience enough to boggle at Perjury, or Memory enough to remember, they have sworn Fidelity to the King and his lawful Successors.

Beginning now to wind up, his Highness minds us of *the great interest which the Princess Royal and himself have in this matter, and of their Right to the Succession, such as all the World knows*: Of the Endeavours we used for the United Provinces, when they were invaded, in a most unjust War in 1672: Of the particular Esteem and Affection, which the English Nation has ever testified to both their Highnesses: And therefore cannot excuse himself from espousing our Interests; to the doing of which, he is earnestly solicited by a great many Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, by many Gentlemen, and Subjects of all Ranks. In all which, the only thing we can understand, is, the Succession, to which, their Highnesses do severally stand in that degree, which all the World knows. But there is not a Man in the World, who can understand, how those, who espouse the interest of another, because they have an interest of their own, espouse any interest but their own; nor could his Highness have told us more plainly, that he comes for himself, not us; that all alledged besides, is only for fashion-sake; and that we might sink or swim, for any care of his, if he had not been concerned himself. Again, because we did what we could for the Dutch, when they were unjustly invaded, no body can understand, how Gratitude obliges them to invade us unjustly themselves; nor how the particular Affection and Esteem, which we have ever testified to their Highnesses, should deserve, that he should become our Enemy, and ruine us for our pains. As much Esteem and Affection, as the great Qualities of his Highness are like to meet every where, he will please to be informed, that the strongest Band of ours, is his Alliance to the Royal Blood; and must pardon the English, if they love not a Man who hates our King, the very King, whose Sister and Daughter tyed our Affections to him: Then, who can understand, how making War upon us is espousing our Interest, our Religion, our Laws, our Liberties and Properties; our Interest, and we, beseech his Highness to have a little Mercy on us, and not oblige us to believe, he espouses our Interest, by subjecting all we have to the mercy of a lawless Sword. He must likewise pardon us, if we believe not on his Word, that many Lords, many of the Gentry, and of all Ranks, are Traytors, which, if it were true, he rewards them betimes, and by exposing them to be punished by others, till it be seasonable to do it himself, informs them what they must expect at last. But the Spiritual Lords and their Principles are well known, and his Highness has experience what they are, in the first Bishop near whom he approached. He is like to meet the Temporal Lords, whom Age keeps not at home, or the King's Service employs not elsewhere, with the Gentry, and all Ranks, in the Field, and be better informed from themselves, that the English are no Traytors, and will take care to wipe off this Aspersions from the Nation. Alas! how little does his Highness know us! Many an unwary, and many a heated Man, speaks Treason here, who is, for all that, honest at Heart, and will make it well appear he is, when there is occasion.

But, therefore it is that his Highness hath thought fit to go over to England, and carry with him a Force sufficient by the Blessing of God to defend him from the Violence of Evil Counsellors. Unintelligible Language of Declarations of War ! To Invade us is called Defending Himself, and this where there is no fear of an Assault, or any danger, save from that very Force which he must needs bring to defend him. For without it, his single Name, nor guarded so much as by a Footman, had found security, and veneration all England over.

After this true account of inducing Reasons, (Reasons, if it please his Penmen, For nothing looks like a Reason but one. viz. Interest) his Highness thinks fit to declare his Intentions: As if there needed a Declaration to inform us what Pikes and Muskets intend. An Army intends nothing but to Master where it comes, the very same which the Saxons and Normans, and all Invaders from the beginning of the World to this day, intended. But his Design is a free and lawful Parliament: And for a Preparative, the annulling of new, and returning of old Charters, particularly that of the City of London: Restoring of former Magistrates; addressing Writs to proper Officers; And suffering none to chuse, or be chosen, but such as are qualified by Law. A Man no wiser than I, would think, that if his Highness designed nothing but this, he might very well have staid at home. For all these Preparatives were, and he knew were, made, before he went aboard. And a free and lawful Parliament had now been sitting, or ready to sit, if he would have let it. Without more ado, it is palpably impossible his Highness should come only to do over again, what he knew was done to his hand; only to get us a Parliament, which he will not suffer us to have, and this pretence must of necessity cover some Design thought less taking with Englishmen.

This Parliament his Highness declares shall meet and sit in full freedom, but perhaps not at so. For the two Houses must, it seems, prepare Laws to confirm and execute the Test; for the security and maintenance of the Protestant Religion; and for a good Agreement between the Church of England and all Protestant Dissenters; and covering such from Persecution as will live peaceably, not excepting Papists. But how will his Highness keep his Word, if a Parliament should happen to think the Test needs no Confirmation, nor Religion more Laws than are already, nor that any Laws can make the Church of England and Dissenters agree? However it be, they love to have it in their power to confirm, or alter, or abrogate, or let the Laws alone as they are, according as the good of the Nation shall require, without having their Task prescribed. They take themselves for Master-Workmen, and who can cut out their Work themselves, not for bare Journeymen, to make up Work cut out by others. But I would gladly know, what Protestant Religion means in the Mouth of his Highness. In the Language of the Country, where he was Born and Bred, right Protestantism signifies Presbytery, and he is said to be surrounded by Men who so understand it, whereof some perhaps might have a hand in this Declaration. As the Religion, or Church Established by Law, had been easily said, if it had been meant; to my thinking the suspicion is vehement, that this free Parliament, with a Holland Trumpet

Trumpet in the Speakers Chair, is to set up Presbytery; at least, I am very sure it must, if that Trumpet sound it; and there is but too much reason to expect it will sound here as it does at home, especially when there is not the least intimation to the contrary. The pretended Invitation of the Spiritual Lords will be well rewarded with a good agreement with their Dissenting Masters, and being covered from Persecution, provided they hold themselves content, and live peaceably. But the comfort is, nothing can better shew their Invitation is but pretended.

To this fully free Parliament *his Highness will refer the inquiry into the Birth of the pretended Prince of Wales*, to Vote him, I suppose, a Prince Prettyman, the Son of Nobody. For we know what the References of Conquerors signify; and what the freedom of their Arbitrators. But it is time to leave talking, when such things are said, and think of other Weapons than Pens. Would his Highness be content to refer his own Birth? For though there be nothing of suspicion in it, yet the nothing on his side is nearer to something than on the side of the Prince of *Wales*. For one may suspect that he who talks at this rate, was not born of an *English* Mother.

But after all, there wants something still. His Highness designs new Laws; but Acts, barely prepared, have not the perfection of Laws. Suppose the King should prove resty somewhere, and advise upon it? Why, his Highness has found an Expedient. *He will himself concur in every thing that may procure the Peace (witness his War) and Happiness of the Nation*, that is, just what he pleases. *He will take care that a Parliament shall be called in Scotland. He will study to bring Ireland into a state that the settlement be observed, and the Protestant and British Interest secured. And as soon as the state of the Nation will admit, he promises to send back his Foreign Forces*; and, in the mean time invites and requires all Peers, and all Persons whatsoever to come and assist him, against all such as shall endeavour to oppose him. That is in short, He will be King of *England*. For none pass Bills into Acts by their Concurrence, but Kings. To take care for calling Parliaments; and for the settlement and security of the Kings Dominions, belongs to none but the King; And he who means to send his Forces away, certainly means to stay himself. And that we may not be ignorant in what condition he means to stay, he takes the King upon him by way of Anticipation. For no body can require the assistance of all his Subjects of all sorts, but the King. So many Stories in the Declaration of a Prince, which are the Entertainment of our Coffee-Houses, and which we now perceive from whence they came; so many dismal Ideas of our Misery, who live a great deal more at ease than they do in *Holland*; so much Trouble and so much Charge purely in Charity to our Neighbours, for no other design than to have a free Parliament Assembled, founded untowardly, and we could not forbear to suspect some design at bottom, though we had not found it own'd. But, if he had not told us so himself, we should hardly have suspected, that Interest could have drawn the Prince of *Orange* to dethrone the King, unprince his Son, and seize the Crown for himself. But now we understand his Highness, we will endeavour his Highness shall understand us, and our Protestant Religion a little better

better than he does. We love our Princes, for all we can be angry, and talk more freely than they dare in other Countreys, and will sooner dye at their Feet, than Strangers shall injure, much less dethrone, them. We love our Country, and we love our Honour, and before *England* shall become the Prey of *Holland*, will take order they shall find nothing in it, but Grass and Trees, no Men for them to use as they did at *Amboina*. We profess a Protestant Religion, which teaches us, not to rise in Arms against our King, by whomsoever we are required, but true Loyalty and Fidelity to him and his lawful Successors, and to defend him against all attempts whatsoever against his Crown, Person, or Dignity, and the World shall see we are no bad Scholars of so good a Mistress. In a word, we know and we Honour *William Henry* Prince of *Orange*, but we know not *William Henry* King of *England* otherwise than for an Enemy.

Animadversions upon the Additional Declarations of his Highness.

THE Premises are so very plain, that his Highness thought it necessary to take notice of them himself. Against the Apprehensions of a Conquest, he alleges the *disproportion of his Forces*, and the *joining of English with him*. That disproportion is not his Fault, and would have been, tho he had brought *Holland* it self in his Fleet, and all the Men in it. But can he not design a Conquest for all that? We were Conquered by the *Normans*, and bare Twelve Thousand *Suedes* bid fair for the Conquest of *Germany*, as little proportion as *Normandy* had to *England*, or *Sweden* to *Germany*. We can Conquer our selves, tho *Holland* cannot; which if we do, we Conquer for him under whom we Fight. For the General wins the Battel, who ever Fight it. And this of necessity his Highness must design, unless he design to be bearen. For Victory and Conquest are but two Names for one thing. Neither is he a Man to be at all this ado to make a Conquest, and not make the most of it when he has done; neither can he do otherwise tho he would. For as he has no Right to Act here by Law, he must of necessity Act by Right of Conquest. And we humbly beseech him not to declare us out of common Sense, and into a belief that he is not capable of intending what we see he is actually doing.

But Enemies to their Country, of all Men in the World, one would least expect should be magnified for Integrity, and Zeal, and constant Fidelity, and who cannot joyn in a wicked attempt of Conquest, to make void their own lawful Titles to their Honours, Estates, and Interests. Must we believe again they cannot joyn in an Attempt in which his Highness himself tells us they do joyn? Nor void their Titles, when they actually did void them the very moment of the first Overt Act, which made it known they thought of that wicked Attempt?

tempt? And then the Fidelity, the Integrity, and Zeal of Treason, is unintelligible Language in *England*. But I have already observed, that his Highness speaks in the Language of a Protestant Religion which is not Established here, and in likelihood never will by a Parliament truly free.

The Kings Concessions are treated as a *seeming Relief*; pretended *Acts of Grace*; an imperfect Redress; upon which no weight is to be laid, because Solemn Promises have been broken; a plain Confession of the Violation set forth in the Declaration, and defective because they may again be taken up. His Highness takes care that nothing shall be replied upon breach of Promise, by giving no instance where it was broken. But to my grief here is greater Work in hand. It had been shorter, and not much plainer said, I am resolved at any rate to come, and be King. For as the pretence of the Declaration was, that the King had taken up some things, and the pretence of the Addition, that he has laid them down, 'tis palpable that the Expedition was unalterably resolved, without any care, or thought of the good of *England*, or its Concerns, save only to borrow a pretence which might contribute to the success of the Expedition, and to which *do*, or *undo* was all a case; and that nothing shall satisfy him but laying down the Crown, nor that neither, because it may happen to be taken up again.

And yet his Highness declares again, that *he will refer all to a free lawful Parliament*. Happy we, if he would. If an *English* Parliament were to judge, whether Foreign Force be lawful? Whether it be Integrity, Zeal, and Fidelity to abet it? Whether it can be without a design of Conquest, and Conquest without enslaving this Nation to the Arbitrary Pleasure of the Conqueror? And twenty such things, which must needs enter into the number of the referred *All*. But to talk of referring all to a Parliament, and at the same time refer all to the Sword; To talk of the freedom of a Parliament, which cannot Vote nor Debate, nor so much as make a Motion, but in danger of their Lives, is purely Talk, and not like to ingratiate his Quarrel to a Nation not altogether senseless, as much as his Highness seems to think it is, when we see the King did call a free Parliament, that is, actually did refer all to it, (for calling one is referring all to it, which it thinks fit to take into Consideration) and that his Highness would not let it sit, we need no Declarations to inform us which of the two is truly willing to refer all to a Parliament.

Two Letters, said to be annexed to the Declaration in *Holland*, and addressed to the Seamen and Land Soldiers, carry likewise the Name of his Highness. In which they are first Cajolled with the Title of *Friends*, as if they were Men to be Cajolled into a Friendship, with the Enemies of their Prince and Country, and then endeavoured to be debauched into his Service, by motives the most unsuitable to English Natures that were ever found out, *Danger from Papists*, *Duty to God*, and *Fear of falling into his Hands*. I perceiv'd we were taken for Fools before, must we be taken for Cowards too, Men to be frightened even with the Sound of Danger? His Highness is like to be informed one day, that the English Fear not his Arms, much less the Papists, who tho they were all embodied, are not near so many Soldiers; no tho it were
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less by as many Papists as are in it. And yet there are more *Holland* than *English* Papists in the Field. Moreover, that they know their Duty to God obliges them to be true to their Prince, and that there is no Honour in Treason. Lastly, that his Men may fear to fall into their Hands, they fear not to fall into his.

It is said besides that *Papists* have sworn the *Ruin of the Protestant Religion*, a piece of News which his Highness would much oblige the whole Nation to Verifie. Let the wicked Men be by Named, and Convicted, and the next Gallows or Tree would save the trouble of Parliaments and References. Lastly, the Soldiers, that they may not be Instruments to defend their Prince, and save their Country, and themselves from Slavery, are desired to believe they are the Instruments to introduce Popery. When they are, They will pray His Majesty to Dispense with their Service. But they find no Popery in Fighting for the King, their Country, and the Laws, against a Man who Usurps the Crown first, and then would cajole them to fix it. For besides, what has been observed already, he writes in the Style of a King, *Trusty and Well Beloved*, and joyns the Supporters of *England* to his Arms, in a manner not allowable in Heraldry, even tho the Princess Royal were Queen. But where we cannot find good Reasons, we must take up with bad Pretences.



F I N I S.

